



EGITTOLOGIA 5

# EGYPT IN ANCIENT AND MODERN TALES, TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS

STUDIES PRESENTED TO MARILINA BETRÒ

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,  
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

**PISA**  
UNIVERSITY  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- 1° vers. = Primo Versamento [First Deposit]  
 2° vers. = Secondo Versamento [Second Deposit]  
 AA = Archäologische Anzeiger (Berlin)  
 ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)  
 AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)  
 AAE = Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (online)  
 AAL Cl. Sc. mor. st. filol. = Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Roma)  
 AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)  
 ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Münster)  
 ABoT = Balkan K., *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1948  
 Acc. Sc. Torino - Memorie Sc. Mor. = Accademia delle Scienze di Torino – Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Torino)  
 ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sydney)  
 ACE Studies = Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney)  
 AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden-Copenhagen)  
 ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt-Berlin)  
 ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Amman)  
 Aeg = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milano)  
 Aegaeum = Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égyptienne de l'Université de Liège (Leuven-Liège)  
 ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt)  
 AegLeo = Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège)  
 AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)  
 ÄgLev = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Wien)  
 AERA = Ancient Egypt Research Associates (Brighton, MA)  
 AERAGram = AERA biannual newsletter (Boston)  
 ÄuAT => ÄAT  
 Aevum = Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche (Milano)  
 Africa = Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Roma)  
 ÄgAbh => ÄA  
 AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva-Basel)  
 AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)  
 ÄHK = *siglum* of the letters between Egyptians and Hittites published by E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77, Opladen 1994  
 AIIN = Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Roma)  
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Chicago)  
 AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]  
 AKB = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)  
 Aldrovandiana = Aldrovandiana. Historical Studies in Natural History (Bologna)  
 Am Antiquity = American Antiquity (Cambridge)  
 AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)  
 Anal Bioanal Chem = Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry (Berlin-Heidelberg)

- AncEg = Ancient Egypt Magazine (London-New York)
- AncSoc = Ancient Society (Leuven)
- AnnHistScSoc = Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Aubervilliers-Cambridge)
- Annu Brit Sch Athens = Annual of the British School at Athens (Athens)
- ANPM = Annals of the Náprstek Museum (Prague)
- ANSMI = Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici Italiani (Roma)
- Anthropol Forum = Anthropological Forum (online)
- Antiquity = Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research (Cambridge)
- AntK = Antike Kunst (Basel)
- AO = Der Alte Orient (Berlin)
- AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- AOF = Altorientalische Forschungen (Bern)
- APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) [after 1945: ADAW]
- ARAAFU = Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire (Paris)
- ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Univ. of Cambridge (Cambridge)
- ARCE Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt (San Antonio, TX)
- Archaeol Prospect = Archaeological Prospection (online)
- Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)
- ARM = Archives royales de Mari (Paris)
- ArtB = The Art Bulletin (online)
- ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)
- ARWAW = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)
- ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)
- ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente (Roma)
- ASBR = Archivio Storico Generalizio del Centro Studi Storici PP. Barnabiti (Roma)
- ASOR = American Society of Overseas Research (Alexandria, VA)
- ASR = L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (online)
- ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano. Soc. per la stor. patria (Palermo)
- ASTENE Bull. = Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries (Durham-Cambridge)
- ASTo = Archivio di Stato, Torino
- Athenaeum = Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità (Pavia)
- AttiAccTorino = Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Torino)
- Atti STSN = Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali (Pisa)
- AUB = American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Beirut)
- AUC = American University in Cairo (Cairo)
- AulaOr = Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Barcelona)
- AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin-Mainz)
- B = Busta [Envelope]
- BA = Biblical Archaeologist [now: NEA] (Ann Arbor-New Haven)
- BAAL = Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (Beirut)
- BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)
- BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)
- BAEFE = Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (online)
- BAH = Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique (Paris)
- BAJA = Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Berlin)
- BaM = Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)
- BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (London)
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)
- BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)

- BBf = Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Cairo-Zurich-Wiesbaden-Stuttgart)
- BCM = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)
- BdA = Bollettino d'Arte (Roma)
- BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)
- BdÉ, B d'E => BdE
- BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris-Cairo)
- BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l'École pratique des hautes études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris)
- B Eng Geol Environ = Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment (online)
- Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)
- BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (Ann Arbor)
- Bessarione = Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientali (Roma)
- BESud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence)
- BEUMo = Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena
- BG = Bibliothèque Générale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- Biblica = Biblica (Roma)
- BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte (Cairo)
- BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)
- BIN = J.B. Nies, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Yale 1917
- BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)
- BM = British Museum, London
- BMB = Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth (Paris)
- BME = British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London)
- BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)
- BMH = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)
- BMJ = British Medical Journal (London)
- BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)
- BMonsMusPont = Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e gallerie Pontificie (Roma)
- BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)
- BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze
- BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
- Bo = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy/Ḫattuša
- Boğazköy-Ḫattuša = Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen (Darmstadt-Berlin-Wiesbaden-Erbenheim)
- Brit J Hist Sci = British Journal for the History of Science (London)
- BRM = A.T. Clay (ed.), *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan (New Haven)*, New York-New Heaven 1923
- BRT = Biblioteca Reale di Torino
- BSA => Annu Brit Sch Athens
- BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)
- BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account (London)
- BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)
- BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques (Paris)
- BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)
- BTMn = Biblioteca Teresiana di Mantova
- BUPi = Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa
- BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)
- C2RMF = Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (Paris)
- CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols, Chicago 1956-2010
- CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Acad. autrich. des sc. (Wien)
- CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)
- CAMS = Centro di Ateneo per i Musei Scientifici, Perugia
- CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)



- CC = *Clavis Coptica* o *Clavis Patrum Coptico-rum, unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna opera copta nell'ambito del Corpus dei Manoscritti Copti Letterari
- CCdE = Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie (Martinique)
- CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)
- CChEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)
- CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles (Bruxelles)
- CdÉ, CdEg => CdE
- CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976.
- CGT = Catalogo Generale del Museo di Torino (serie)
- CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (online)
- CeROArt = Conservation, exposition, Restauration d'Objets d'Art (Liège)
- CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)
- CLES = Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum (New York)
- CLM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna unità codicologica letteraria copta nell'ambito del progetto *PAThs* e del suo principale prodotto scientifico, l'*Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (<https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manuscripts>)
- CIQu = The Classical Quarterly (Cambridge)
- CMET = Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino)
- CNI => CNIANES
- CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNIP = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)
- CNR = Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
- CollHell = Collectanea Hellenistica (Bruxelles)
- Comp Stud Soc Hist = Comparative Studies in Society and History (Cambridge)
- CP = Classical Philology (Chicago)
- CRAI => CRAIBL
- CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris)
- CRBC = Conservation-Restauration des Biens Culturels (Sorbonne)
- CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris-Lille)
- CRUI = Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (Roma)
- CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva)
- CSIS = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid)
- CSCT = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition (Leiden-Boston)
- CTH = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris 1971 (with Supplements in RHA XXX, 1972, 94–133 = CTH Suppl., and RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68–71 (<https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>))
- Curr Anthropol = Current Anthropology (Chicago)
- D3T = Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives
- DAAM = D. Schwemer, E. Rieken (eds), *Documenta Antiqua Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden
- DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo (Cairo)
- DAIK S = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Sonderschrift (Cairo)
- DBH 46/2 = R. Akdoğan, *Hethitische Texte Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*, Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46/2, Wiesbaden 2016.
- DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Roma)
- DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (<https://papyri.info>)
- DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)
- DELC = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1984
- DemStud = Demotische Studien (Leipzig-Sommerhausen)
- Der Antike Sudan = Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilungen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin)
- DFIFAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)
- DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

- DPDP = Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (<http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html>)
- DS = Detroit Statue
- EA = Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)
- EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Oriente (Paris)
- EAT = *siglum* of the edition of the cuneiform tablets unearthed at Tell el-Amarna
- EDAL = Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries (Milan)
- EtudTrav = Études et Travaux (Warsaw)
- EEF = (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund => MEEF
- EEF Memoir => MEEF, EES EM
- E&G Quaternary Sci. J. = Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart Quaternary Science Journal (online)
- EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London) [earlier names: MEEF/MEES]
- EES GRM = EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs (London)
- EES TM = EES Texts from Excavations, Memoirs (London)
- EgAT = O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts*, Providence (vol. 1) 1960, (vol. 2) 1966, (vol. 3) 1969
- EGE = Revista de Expresión Gráfica en la Edificación (Madrid)
- EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)
- EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)
- Eidola = Eidola. International Journal of Ancient Art History (Pisa)
- EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)
- Enchoria = Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden)
- ENiM = Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier)
- EPRO = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden) [later RGRW]
- EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster)
- ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London) [after 1906: BSAE]
- ERUV = S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie Religieuse de l'Univers Végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, 4 vols, Montpellier 1999-2005
- EtudTrav => ET
- ET = Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)
- EU => EgUit
- EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente (Pisa)
- [ExSaq] = Excavation at Saqqara (SAE, Cairo)
- FAT = Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2<sup>nd</sup> series (Tübingen)
- FÄW = J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 2002)
- FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports préliminaires (Cairo)
- FoRa = Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir – Pi-Ramesse (Mainz)
- FR => FoRa
- FuB = Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)
- Geol Survey Israel Rep No GSI = Geological Survey of Israel, Report No. G.S.I. (Jerusalem)
- GFA = Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (online)
- GHE = Golden House Egyptology (London)
- GHP Egyptology = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)
- GM = Göttinger Miscellen (Göttingen)
- GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden)
- Greek Roman Byzantin = Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)
- GrHL = H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.
- GRM => EES-GRM
- GSI = Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem)
- HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)
- HAT = *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden)
- Hb Orient St Sect = Handbook of Oriental Studies Section (Leiden)
- HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)

- HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (<http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>)
- Hist Reflections = Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques (New York)
- HKM = S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6/34, Ankara 1991
- HPBM = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London)
- HR = History of Religions (Chicago)
- HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge MA)
- HZL = Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Bogazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2, Wiesbaden 1989
- IAMS = Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies (London)
- IAWA = International Association of Wood Anatomists (Leiden)
- IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (online)
- ICE = International Congress of Egyptologists
- IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)
- IFAO BG = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale (Cairo)
- IFROA = Institut Français de Restauration des Œuvres d'Art (Saint-Denis)
- IJNA = International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (online)
- ILC = Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Madrid)
- Info DaF = Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Göttingen-Bonn)
- Int As Sed = International Association of Sedimentologists Special Publication (Gent)
- IOS = Israel Oriental Studies (Leiden)
- Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)
- ISIMU = ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)
- ISMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma)
- JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun)
- JACF = Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum (online)
- JAEA = The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture (online)
- JA EI = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)
- JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore-Boston-New Haven)
- JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo)
- J Archaeol Res = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)
- JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science (Tucson)
- JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (Mainz)
- JCH = Journal of Cultural Heritage (online)
- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Chicago-New Haven-Cambridge)
- JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London)
- JEGH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)
- JEMAHS = Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Philadelphia)
- JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)
- JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies (Sofia)
- JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
- JfAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Münster)
- J Glass Stud = Journal of Glass Studies (New York)
- JHA = Journal for the History of Astronomy (Chalfont St. Giles)
- J Hist Collect = Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)
- J Hist Ideas = Journal of the History of Ideas (Philadelphia)
- JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)
- JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw)
- JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (online)
- JMC = Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
- JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (Philadelphia)  
 J Soc Archaeol = Journal of Social Archaeology (online)  
 JSSEA = Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) (Toronto)  
 JWCI = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London)  
 JWP = Journal of World Prehistory (New York)  
 Kadmos = Kasmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik (Berlin-New York)  
 KARNAK = Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Cairo)  
 KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz)  
 KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Berlin)  
 Kemi = Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes (Paris)  
 KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)  
 KRI = K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford 1969-1990  
 KUB => KBo  
 Kush = Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service / Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) (Khartoum)  
 KuT = *sighum* of the tablets and fragments excavated at Kuşaklı/Şarişša.  
 LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Wiesbaden 1972/5-  
 LACMA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles)  
 [LDA] = Les Dossiers d'Archéologie (Dijon)  
 LDAB = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*  
 LEAD = Late Egyptian Artefact Database (<https://lead.ifao.egnet.net/>)  
 LETIAM = Laboratoire d'Étude des Techniques et Instruments d'Analyse Moléculaire (Paris)  
 Levant = Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Jerusalem)  
 Lexis = Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica (Abano Terme)  
 LGG = Chr. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110-116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002.  
 LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen)  
 LingAeg SM => LinAeg – StudMon  
 LingAeg – StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia – Studia Monographica (Hamburg)  
 LNS = Late New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1240-1180 BC)  
 LRMF = Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France  
 M = Mazzo [Bundle]  
 MA = Musée des Antiquités (Rouen)  
 MAAO = Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient (Gladbeck)  
 MACA = Mantova Collezioni Antiche (Mantova)  
 MAE = Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Torino)  
 MAECI = Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale (Roma)  
 MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin-Munich-Mainz)  
 MÄSB = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)  
 MAFTO = Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbe-Ouest  
 MAI = Missione Archeologica Italiana  
 MAM = Museo Archeologico, Milano  
 Mar Geol = Marine Geology (Amsterdam-New York)  
 Marmora = Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones (Pisa)  
 MASCA = Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (Philadelphia)  
 MascaP = MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology (Philadelphia)  
 MBA-Dijon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon  
 MBA-Lyon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon  
 MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (Leiden-Paris)  
 MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden)  
 MdS = Musées de Sens  
 MedA = Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

- MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund [later: MEES] (London)
- MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)
- MEFRA = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité (Paris)
- MEFRM = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge (Paris)
- MemAcInscr = Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Toulouse-Paris)
- Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo-Paris)
- [Mem.Phil.] = Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (Philadelphia)
- MemPontAc = Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Memorie (Roma)
- MGC = Museo “Gaetano Chierici” di Paletnologia (Reggio Emilia)
- MH = Middle Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1500-1350)
- MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire (Berlin-Cairo)
- MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)
- MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)
- MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)
- MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris) [later MIFAO]
- MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)
- MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)
- MonPiot = Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot (Paris)
- MPER = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)
- MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles-Turnhout)
- MS = Middle Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1500-1350 BC)
- MSAE = Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla (Roma)
- Msk = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Meskene/Emar
- MUP = Musei dell'Università di Pisa (Pisa)
- Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Leuven)
- Muséon => Mus
- MUSJ = Mémoires/Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut)
- MVCAE = Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta)
- NARCE = Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) (New York-Cairo)
- Nat Sci Arc = Natural Science in Archaeology (New York)
- NEA = Near Eastern Archaeology [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)] (Boston)
- NeHeT = NeHeT. Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Bruxelles)
- NH = New Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1350-1180 BC)
- NML = National Museum, Liverpool
- NS = New Script (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1350-1240 BC)
- Numen = Numen: International Review for the History of Religions (Leiden)
- OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)
- Ocnus = Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici (Bologna)
- OH = Old Hittite (Hittite language attested c. 1650-1500 BC)
- OIAR = Oriental Institute Annual Report (Chicago)
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)
- OJA = Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)
- OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Münster-Berlin-Leipzig)
- OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- Or = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Ortaköy/Şapinuwa
- ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen)
- OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus (Roma)
- OrArch = Orient-Archäologie, DAI (Berlin)
- OrChrPer = Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Roma)
- OREA = Oriental and European Archaeology (Wien)
- Orientalia => OrNS

- Orient Christ Analec = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Roma)
- OrMonsp = *Orientalia Monspeliensia* (Montpellier)
- OrNS = *Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series* (Roma)
- OS = *Old Script* (Hittite cuneiform used c. 1650-1500 BC)
- PÄ = *Probleme der Ägyptologie* (Leiden-Boston-Köln)
- PalHiéro => PH
- PALLAS = *Pallas. Revue d'études antiques* (Toulouse)
- PALMA = *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology* (Turnhout)
- PAM = *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* (Warsaw)
- P Am Philos Soc = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia)
- Palamedes = *Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History* (Warsaw)
- PalArch => PJAEE
- PBF = *Prähistorische Bronzefunde* (München-Stuttgart)
- PBSEA = *Publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology* (London)
- PEFQS = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (London)
- PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (London)
- PH = *Paléographie Hiéroglyphique* (Cairo)
- Philippika = *Philippika: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen* (Wiesbaden)
- PHRP = *The polychrome hieroglyph research project*, ed. by D. Nunn (<https://phrp.be/About.html>)
- PIA = *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, UCL* (London)
- PIHANS = *Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul* (Istanbul)
- PJAEE = *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* (Leiden)
- Plant Biosyst = *Plant Biosystem - An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology* (online)
- PLB = *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* (Leiden)
- PLOS ONE = *Public Library of Science* (online)
- PLup = *Papyrologica Lupiensia* (Lecce)
- PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951 (1960- )
- PMMA = *Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition)* (New York)
- PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935-1977
- PSAS = *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (Oxford)
- PSG = *Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Bonn Statue*
- PSI = *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto* (Firenze)
- PT = K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, neu herausgegeben und erläutert*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1908-1922
- QuadTorino = *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte* (Torino)
- RANT = *Res Antiquae* (Bruxelles)
- Rass. Ita. pol. lett. art. = *Rassegna Italiana politica, letteraria e artistica* (Roma)
- RB = *Revue Biblique* (Jerusalem-Paris)
- RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris)
- RE = *Rites Égyptiens* (Bruxelles)
- REAC = *Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte* (Imola-Bologna)
- REG = *Revue des Études Grecques* (Paris)
- RevEg = *Revue égyptologique* (Paris) [later: RdE]
- Rev Louvre = *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* (Paris)
- RGRW = *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden)
- RGTC VI = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1978
- RGTC VI/2 = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1992.
- RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asianique* (Paris)
- RHR = *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions* (Paris)
- Ric Stor Arte = *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* (Roma)

- RIDA = Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles)
- RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*
- RIME = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*
- RiME = Rivista del Museo Egizio (Torino)
- RITA = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, Oxford 1993
- RITANC = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, Oxford 1993
- Riv. Mil. = Rivista Militare (Roma)
- RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)
- RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum narodowego w Warszawie (Warsaw)
- RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)
- RT = Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)
- RVO = Religion in Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)
- SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)
- SAAC = Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization. Jagiellonian Univ. (Cracovia)
- SaarBeitr = Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Saarbrücken)
- Saeculum = Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)
- SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)
- SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)
- SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte (Hamburg)
- SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin-Boston)
- SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)
- SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)
- SARS Newsletter = The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter (London)
- SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (München)
- SBS = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien (Freudenstadt-Loßburg)
- ScAnt = Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia (Roma)
- SCO = Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa)
- SDAW = Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin)
- SEAP = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- SEL = Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Roma)
- Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)
- SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)
- SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)
- SIMA = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (Lund)
- SiMa = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SiMuA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- Sitzber K Preuss Aka = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)
- SMA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo
- SMAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes (Roma)
- SMEA = Studi Mediterranei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma)
- SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)
- SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)
- SSR = Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden)
- StädelJb = Städel Jahrbuch (München)
- StBoT = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)
- StEgAntPun = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)
- StMatStorRel = Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni (Roma)
- StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest-Roma)
- StudPAP = Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina (Paris)
- Stud Piemontesi = Studi Piemontesi (Torino)

- Sudan & Nubia = Sudan & Nubia: Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)
- StudDem = Studia Demotica (Leuven)
- StudGener = Studium Generale. Zeitschrift für die Einheit der Wissenschaften im Zusammenhang Ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York)
- SVB = Studia Varia Bruxellensia (ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia) (Leuven)
- Symbolon = Symbolon. Jahrb. Für Symbolforsch (Cologne)
- Syria = Syria: Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie (Paris)
- Talanta = TalAnta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society (Hoofddorp)
- TbT = Totenbuchttexte (Basel)
- T C S Peirce Soc = Transactions of the Charles S Peirce Society (Indianapolis)
- TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz)
- TEL AVIV = TEL AVIV: the Journal of the Institute of Archaeology (Tel Aviv)
- THEBEN = Theben (Mainz)
- TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>, Web app version 2.0.2.1, 8/8/2023, ed. by T. S. Richter, D. A. Werning, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, P. Dils
- TM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del database *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world* (<https://www.trismegistos.org/>)
- TPOP = Turin Papyrus Online Platform (<https://collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it>; <https://papyri.museoegizio.it/Login.aspx>)
- TSL = Thot Sign List <http://thotsignlist.org>, ed. by Université de Liège and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
- TTR = Tanis, travaux récents sur le Tell San El-Hagar (Paris)
- TUAT-NF = B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, vols 1-10, Gütersloh 2004
- TVAT = Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico (Brescia)
- UAVA = Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)
- UC = University of California
- UCLA = University of California, Los Angeles
- UF = Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)
- UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim-Leipzig-Berlin)
- UIT d'Orsay = Université Paris-Saclay
- UMAA = University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge)
- UMI = University of Michigan
- UPMJ = University Pennsylvania Museum Journal (Philadelphia)
- [UPMM] = University Pennsylvania Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)
- USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)
- UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)
- VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)
- VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
- VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Revue d'Histoire ancienne] (Moscow-Leningrad)
- V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum (London)
- VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)
- VisRel = Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography (Leiden)
- VO = Vicino Oriente (Roma)
- VRAMK = Voronezh Regional Art Museum of I.N. Kramskoy
- VT = Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)
- WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)
- Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1926-1961
- WdO = Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen-Wupoertal)
- WorldArch = World Archaeology (online)
- World Literature Tod = World Literature Today (online)
- WSEA = Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology (New York)



WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen  
der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig-  
Berlin-Saarbrücken-Saarwellingen)

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des  
Morgenlandes (Wien)

YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasia-  
tische Archäologie (Leipzig-Berlin)

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Al-  
tertumskunde (Berlin-Leipzig)

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Ver-  
eins (Leipzig-Wiesbaden)

ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und  
verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig)

## INTRODUCTION

GIANLUCA MINIACI, CHRISTIAN GRECO, PAOLO DEL VESCO, MATTIA MANCINI, CRISTINA ALÙ

As former students of Prof. Marilina Betrò, on the occasion of her retirement, we decided to gather contributions from colleagues and friends on the topics she has significantly contributed to during her academic career. The outcome of this collaborative effort is the creation of six volumes that celebrate and honour her scholarly achievements.

The first volume, *The Sacred and the Secular in the Theban Necropolis*, is a collection of 18 papers that explore various aspects of life in the Theban Necropolis on the western bank of the Nile at modern-day Luxor. These papers encompass religious, ritual, material, and profane elements. The Theban Necropolis has been a focal point of archaeological research carried out by Marilina Betrò, who first became acquainted with this site at the beginning of her career while working in the ‘Temple of Millions of Years’ of Thutmose IV under the supervision of Edda Bresciani. In 2003, Marilina Betrò initiated and directed an ongoing archaeological expedition to investigate the Ramesside tomb of Huy (TT 14), located in the northern sector of the Theban Necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga). Subsequently, in 2004, the Italian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (M.I.D.A.N.) discovered a previously unknown early Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb called M.I.D.A.N.05 and, in 2010, two other smaller tombs cut into the northern side of its courtyard. The archaeological fieldwork in Thebes has shaped the careers of many of her students and produced significant results, published in several scientific articles and a monograph titled *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga* (2009).

The second volume, *A Matter of Religions: Gods and People in Ancient Egypt*, gathers 18 papers that explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people. Marilina Betrò’s seminal work, *Saqqara III: I testi solari del portale di Pasherientaisu (BN 2)* (1989), represents an important milestone in the studies of ancient Egyptian religion. The entrance portal of Pasherientaisu, discovered in the Saqqara necropolis during archaeological fieldwork directed by Edda Bresciani, was inscribed with a version of the cult-theological treatise studied by Jan Assmann in his work *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Before the discovery of Pasherientaisu’s portal, only half of this religious composition was known, which concerned the sunrise and the king’s knowledge of the ‘arcana’ of the sun’s course. The portal inscription preserves the other half of the composition, translated and commented by Betrò, which is dedicated to the night journey of the sun. This ancient Egyptian religious text, discovered by Professor Betrò, represents a bridge between the ‘esoteric’ hymns of the solar cult and the so-called underworld books and was later quoted and incorporated by Assmann in his volume *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (1995). Betrò later presented a synthesis and critique of the religious system of ancient Egypt in a chapter of “Egittologia” (2005), edited by Alessandro Roccati, which has influenced the latest generations of Italian students of Egyptology.

The third volume, *Digging for Ancient Egypt and Egyptology in the Archives*, contains 14 articles exploring previously unpublished letters, notes, diaries, and other documents from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These documents preserve a vast amount of information essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Egypt and the evolution of the discipline of Egyptology. Marilina Betrò has led several research projects on this subject, with a particular focus on the rich documentation of Egyptian monuments and sites produced by Champollion, Rosellini, and other members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in 1828-29. This valuable documentation is now preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. She has directed an important national project called “Progetto Rosellini”, which led to the discovery in the National Archives in Prague of two lists of the antiquities Ippolito Rosellini brought to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, now part of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. The

project's objective was to digitize all the documents (drawings, manuscripts, notebooks, and diaries) of the members of the *Spedizione* held in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. This culminated in an important publication on Egyptological archives titled *Talking along the Nile* (2013). As part of the project, she curated two exhibitions – one in Pisa and another in Cairo – of manuscripts and drawings of the *Spedizione*. The exhibition held in Cairo, 2009-2010, also facilitated the return of a selection of the original documents to Egypt, some 200 years after their composition in that country. Through her archival research, the powerful chief steward of Perunefer under Amenhotep II, Qenamun, owner of TT 93, was able to reclaim his material identity. His body and original coffin have since been reunited and are now part of the Collezioni Egittologiche 'Edda Bresciani' in Pisa (Betrò, *Kenamun: l'undicesima mummia*, 2014).

The fourth volume, *The Materiality of Ancient Egypt: Objects and Museums*, consists of 19 articles that explore the diverse stories hidden within museum objects and collection archives, fostering an ongoing dialogue between ancient materials, texts, and modern interpretation and methodologies. Professor Betrò has played a significant role in museum and object studies, introducing the first course in Egyptian Epigraphy in Pisa, utilising the material preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. She served as the director of the 'Sistema Museale di Ateneo' of the University of Pisa from 2012 to 2014, and since 2017, has been the head of the scientific committee of the Museo Egizio in Turin. She also organized two international conferences, both held in Pisa, focusing on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt and other societies, resulting in a volume titled *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts* (2024). Additionally, Professor Betrò has played a vital role in advancing Egyptology by integrating new technologies into object studies. From 2005 to 2009, she led a research unit in the FIRB project *Tecnologie integrate di Robotica ed Ambienti Virtuali in Archeologia*.

The fifth volume, *Egypt in Ancient and Modern Tales, Travels and Explorations*, brings together 12 articles that explore Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives, captivating the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from both ancient and modern explorers. Professor Betrò's career has been shaped by her passion for travel, whether physical or intellectual. This passion has been applied to Egyptology with a project called "Egypt in India", exploring Egyptian antiquities beyond the traditional borders, culminating in the publication *Egypt in India: Egyptian antiquities in Indian museums* (2004), edited by Edda Bresciani and Marilina Betrò. In addition, she authored the monograph *Racconti di viaggio e di avventura dell'antico Egitto* (1994), presenting a collection of ancient Egyptian tales about travels and adventures. Her interest in the forms of expression of ancient Egyptian thought and narrative led to her co-editing the volume *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)* (2017), an exploration of ancient Egypt through its images.

The sixth and final volume of this series, *Ancient Egypt and the Surrounding World: Contact, Trade, and Influence*, focuses on the complex cultural interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and North-East Africa, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria. This theme has been a constant throughout Professor Betrò's academic career. The early part of her career as an Egyptologist was marked by significant publications of demotic texts on ostraca and papyri, such as contracts, accounts, and memos, which have made a major contribution to our understanding of daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted within society, such as "Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco. Comunicazioni d'affari e conti vari", *EVO* 2 (1979); "Due tavolette demotiche e il p.gr. Amherst II 31", *EVO* 7 (1984); "Il p.dem. Lille 119: un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto", in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (1985). She also organised a conference in Pisa called 'Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: Tra passato e futuro' that brought together Italian scholars of ancient Oriental Studies, fostering dialogue between different fields and disciplines, and which has now become a tradition in Italian studies (EVOA meetings). The resulting publication of the conference was *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull'Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia*, I Convegno Nazionale, Pisa, 5-6 giugno 2017 (2018) edited by Marilina Betrò, Stefano De Martino, Gianluca Miniaci, and Frances Pinnock. In addition, she has been member of the *Consiglio Direttivo della Consulta Universitaria per gli Studi sull'Asia e Africa* (CUSTAA), demonstrating her commitment to integrating and connecting Egyptology with other neighbouring disciplines.



**PRIESTS CARRYING ‘OSIRIS-CANOPUS/HYDREIOS’:  
FROM ALEXANDRIA TO THE IMPERIAL ISEA OUTSIDE EGYPT  
PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS**

ROSANNA PIRELLI\*

**Abstract**

*The Arcos Museum in Benevento holds a collection of about fifty stone artefacts related to a temple of Isis, erected by Marcus Rutilius Lupus on the occasion of Domitian's victorious return from the Dacian wars, in the eighth year of his reign. Among the finds of particular interest are two almost life-size statues of priests holding a canopic deity or Hydreios, dated by Müller (1969) to the Hadrianic period. Subsequent literature has followed Müller's chronology for these sculptures and has placed similar statues between the mid- 1<sup>st</sup> and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, without dwelling on the (sometimes) profound differences, especially stylistic, between the various specimens. In order to provide new insights on the subject, the article will present some concise observations on canopic deities, and then make a comparative analysis of the few stone sculptures of 'priests with Hydreios' known so far.*

**PREMISE**

I am very pleased and honoured to dedicate these pages to a dear friend and scholar whose contribution to Egyptology spanned so many areas, always with great insight and a very personal touch. I hope that these considerations, albeit preliminary, on such a special category of statues may be of some interest to her.

The Arcos Museum in Benevento holds a collection of around fifty stone artefacts pertaining to a temple of Isis erected by M. Rutilius Lupus on the occasion of Domitian's victorious return from the Dacian Wars, in the eighth year of his reign, as the texts of two obelisks in the name of the emperor state. The temple must have been rather monumental if we consider the quantity, nature, and quality of the artefacts, including also: statues representing 'pharaohs', in both human and sphinx form; two anthropomorphic deities, four priests,

several zoomorphic gods, a *cista mystica*, and a few epigraphs.<sup>1</sup>

Among the finds of particular interest are two almost life-size statues of priests holding a canopic deity,<sup>2</sup> which were dated by Müller to the Hadrianic period.<sup>3</sup>

Subsequent literature has aligned itself with Müller's chronology for these sculptures and has placed three other similar statues between the mid-1<sup>st</sup><sup>4</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD,<sup>5</sup> without, however, dwelling on the, sometimes, profound stylistic differences between the various specimens and without addressing the question of the contexts in which these sculptures were produced and employed.

The need for brevity does not allow me to address all the issues here, so I will limit myself to presenting the entire group of statues, and comparing the different specimens with each other,<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER 1971; and lastly PIRELLI 2023, 311-30.

<sup>2</sup> Although Osiris is the one most frequently represented in this form, other deities could also manifest themselves as canopic deities, as shown, for instance, by the figures in relief on the *columnae coelatae* in the Capitoline Museums: ENSOLI VITTOZZI 1990, 59-70.

<sup>3</sup> MÜLLER 1971, cat. no. 284 (1922), 88-91; 288 (inv. no. 1926), 98.

<sup>4</sup> The date attributed by Müller himself to a similar one in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (*ibid.*, 90).

<sup>5</sup> WILD 1981, 115; DUNAND 2008, 160-2; GAVINI 2014, 33; BÜLOW CLAUSEN 2015, 262.

<sup>6</sup> For the same reason of brevity, it is not possible to include the entries for the statues with the detailed descriptions from which the present observations derive; these, together with more general considerations on the role and significance of such

while also considering a newly identified type of canopus, which I suggest placing chronologically between type A and type B. Finally, I also will provide some external data, including a few short notes on their contexts of origin, useful at least for a more concrete discussion of their chronological placement.

The analysis of the statues will be preceded by a brief presentation of the peculiar divine hypostases known as ‘canopic deities’.

### OSIRIS HYDREIOS: A SYNTHESIS

The form of Osiris Hydreios<sup>7</sup> appears to be a creation no earlier than the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC/early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD,<sup>8</sup> and is documented by a considerable number of specimens (more than 200) in various forms:<sup>9</sup> stone sculptures, images on coins and other objects; small bronzes or clay figures depicting priests holding a canopic jar in their veiled hands; and a group of five almost life-size sculptures depicting the same type of priests, forming the subject of this article.

Weber had already established an initial classification of the ‘canopic jars’ in 1911,<sup>10</sup> distinguishing: a type A, characterised by a surface decorated in bas-relief with divine figures and elements related to the funerary world; from a type B whose

surface is covered with a *wsh* necklace<sup>11</sup> surmounting a solar disc with uraei, and with a draped cloth attached to either side of the vessel’s shoulder. A third type, B’, whose surface is decorated with spiral grooves covering the entire surface of the vessel, was later identified by Wild, who considers it a variant developed from type B.<sup>12</sup>

Most of the Osiris-Hydreios images belong to type A, the oldest of the three, followed by the other two, which, to the best of our knowledge, are not attested on coins before the eleventh year of Trajan (109 AD).<sup>13</sup> The contexts of provenance are mostly cult places dedicated to Isis and/or Serapis, or alternatively related to the funerary sphere, in no case predating the late Hellenistic period.

A fourth type (A’) has just been identified by the writer, through a close analysis recently carried out on the canopus of a statue of a priest from Karales;<sup>14</sup> on the basis of its characteristics, I think it may be an intermediate model between type A and type B: the acephalous canopus is decorated with a *wsh* necklace with rounded ends and a sun disc whose wings embrace the body of the vessel; in my opinion, the drapery of type B could be an evolution of this element.

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type of statues in an Isiac temple, will be published in a fuller contribution by the writer in a forthcoming article. For each of the samples, however, basic technical data are provided in ns 15-8.

<sup>7</sup> WILD 1981, 102, following the terminology indicated by GRIFFITHS 1975, 227-32, prefers to avoid the expression Osiris Canopus, and uses instead Osiris-Hydreios or Osiris in Hydria. In these pages, the term ‘canopus’ will mainly be used to refer to the ‘container’, while Hydreios will be used in relation to the divine entity evoked by the vase.

<sup>8</sup> WILD 1981, 115.

<sup>9</sup> For an almost complete list of materials referable to images of Osiris Hydreios, see WEBER 1911, 29-48 and WILD 1981, 113-20; a list to which must be added the statue of a priest with Hydreios found in the waters of Antirrhodos in the late 1990s (DUNAND 1998, 189-94).

<sup>10</sup> WEBER 1911, 32.

<sup>11</sup> Although without defining it a *wsh*, WEBER (1911, 32) correctly identifies the represented object with a necklace “Auf der Vorderseite hängt ein grosses Perlen- oder Kugelcollier herab”; while MÜLLER 1971, 90 describes it as “un oggetto in forma di scala a pioli che con le due liste laterali allungate verso l’alto era collegato al collo della testa umana.” WILD 1981, 120 defines it as a ‘U-neck garment’. However, that it is a ‘modern’ and stylised version of the *wsh* necklace is demonstrated, for example, by a scene, accompanied by its caption, depicting Nectanebo I offering the *wsh* necklace to Osiris, engraved on one of the screen walls of his kiosk in Philae (for the image, see LOMBARDI 2013, fig. 19). The appearance of this necklace is, in my opinion, at an intermediate stage between the traditional form of the Pharaonic era and that of later periods.

<sup>12</sup> WILD 1981, 120-1.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> A general survey carried out in Cagliari (28 March-2 April 2024) was aimed at personally documenting the Isiac materials from ancient Karales, only partially published (cf. Gavini 2014 and bibliography). I would like to thank the *Soprintendenza Archeologia, belle arti e paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Cagliari e le province di Oristano e Sud Sardegna*, and the *Direzione Generale Musei - Musei Nazionali di Cagliari* for the authorisations granted to me; I am also grateful to the staff of the Superintendente Depots, the *Corte dei Conti di Cagliari* and the Associazione Sant’Eulalia for their generous availability and support during my work; and to Donatella Mureddu, formerly in charge of excavations in the archaeological area of Sant’Eulalia, for her interest and the information given to me.

## THE MATERIALS

The group of statues I am about to illustrate includes: the two statues from Benevento (Figs 1-2),<sup>15</sup> a fragmentary specimen now in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Fig. 3),<sup>16</sup> an almost complete specimen (with only the feet missing) from underwater excavations off the coast of Alexandria, near the islet of Antirrhodos, now in the National Museum of Alexandria (Fig. 4),<sup>17</sup> and another fragmentary specimen, held in the Museo del Tesoro di Sant'Eulalia in Cagliari (Fig. 5).<sup>18</sup>

Despite their different conditions of preservation, the five specimens clearly refer to the same type of iconography, which portrays a priest wrapped in a large cloak, the flaps of which are held by the hands resting on his waist/chest; the hands, also cloaked, hold a canopic deity, who is not centred in relation to the human figure, but shifted to the left; the vase sometimes rests on a cushion/wreath, which reproduces in a highly stylised form the garlands of roses associated with the Isiac cult.<sup>19</sup> All priests are presented as striding figures with the left leg advanced.

Beyond these common elements, a closer look reveals certain differences – in some cases not at all negligible – both between individual specimens and between groups of them.

The Alexandrian statues share a great naturalness of movement, softness of drapery and a similar surface treatment,<sup>20</sup> and both of them lack the back pillar. In their regard, Paolo Gallo argued that, given their stylistic similarities and comparable sizes, "... les deux oeuvres sortent du même atelier de sculpteur..." and that "elles forment un couple (comme celles découvertes à Bénévent<sup>15</sup>) sculpté pour prendre place symétriquement dans un bâtiment sacré".<sup>21</sup> Some differences should however be remarked: the cloak of the statue in the Greco-Roman Museum is broader and not symmetrically arranged around the figure (on the

right side, being less adherent to the priest's body); moreover, the fall of the cloak immediately under the hands does not show the thickening of the fabric that can be observed in the National Museum specimen; finally, the (missing) canopic jar rested on a cushion/wreath that is absent under the vase of the Antirrhodos statue (see Figs 3 and 4).

The two Benevento statues are also very similar to each other, perhaps even more so (see Figs 1 and 2); some features however suggest that they were not made by the same sculptor and that one of the two was the model for the other: the priest inv. no. 1926 is slightly smaller, its base is asymmetrical, and some of the details of the clothing and of the back pillar differ, as do the cushions/wreaths on which the two vases rest, and the heads of the deities depicted must have been different (one with a beard, the other without). The intervention of two different hands is also evidenced by the modelling of the bodies and the drapery of the cloaks, which, in the smaller specimen (inv. no. 1926), appear in some places as lacking plasticity and definition, whereas in the larger one the drapery is much more rigid and sharp-edged.

If we move now to a comparison of the Samnite statues with the one from Karales, although this latter is very poorly preserved and its quality looks more modest (see Fig. 5), we cannot fail to notice for all three sculptures a certain standardisation and stiffening of forms compared to those in Alexandria: for instance, the arms are rigidly arranged in an almost straight plane at the height of the priest's waist, drawing a clear separation between the torso and the lower part of the body, whereas the position of the arms of the Alexandrian statues appears more natural, with the elbows lower than the hands and the jar supported almost at the height of the priest's face. The different position of the canopus also entails another significant difference: judging by the statue in the National

<sup>15</sup> Held in the Arcos Museum in Benevento: inv. no. 1922, diorite, acephalous, some slight scratches, h 139 cm; w 50 cm, back pillar with square top; inv. no. 1926, diorite, acephalous, some slight scratches, h 133 cm; w 45 cm; back pillar with bevelled top.

<sup>16</sup> Inv. no. 4309. BÜLOW CLAUSEN corrects (2015, 260, n. 236) the inventory number given by MÜLLER (inv. no. 20274): granite, missing head, 'canopus' and legs; surfaces extensively corroded; lower right side badly damaged, h pres. 89 cm; w 46 cm.

<sup>17</sup> Inv. no. SCA 449: grano-diorite, surfaces extensively corroded, with irregularities especially on the upper right side of the head of the man and god: h 133 cm; w 46 cm.

<sup>18</sup> Inv. no. 18004 (probably to be corrected as 18064): granite, only the torso is preserved; widely corroded surfaces, h cons. 67.5 cm; w cons. 40.5 cm (originally 43 cm?).

<sup>19</sup> WILD 1981, 113, 121; MALAISE 1972, 126. Such garlands sometimes also characterise images of the goddess: cf., e.g., the statue of Isis-Tyche from the Praetorium of Gortyna (DUNAND 1973, 205, pl. 26).

<sup>20</sup> Also considering that the statue of Antirrhodos spent a long time underwater.

<sup>21</sup> GALLO 2002, 21-4.



Fig. 1 - Priest from Benevento – inv. no. 1922 (Photo Trotta – Courtesy of the Museo del Sannio, Provincia di Benevento).



Fig. 2 - Priest from Benevento – inv. no. 1926 (Photo Trotta – Courtesy of the Museo del Sannio, Provincia di Benevento).





Fig. 3 - Priest from Alexandria (Greco-Roman Museum) – inv. no. 4309 (According to GALLO 2002, processed by Trotta).

Museum, we should suppose that both the heads of the Alexandrian priests were turned to the right, with the left cheek resting against the vase, which was held higher than that of the Italian statues; these latter instead appear to turn their head (now missing) towards the vase. While the two canopic jars of the Benevento statues belong with certainty to Weber's type B, the identification of the canopus of the Alexandrian statue in the National Museum raises some uncertainties, although now, comparing it with the jar of the Karales statue, I think it might be attributed to type A'.<sup>22</sup> Finally, unlike the statues of Alexandria, the statues of Benevento and Cagliari rest on a back pillar,<sup>23</sup> but this one differs from the Egyptian tradition by being slightly tapered as it rises and follows the progression of the advanced leg. The movement of

the leg also causes an asymmetrical arrangement of the hips in the back of the figure, the supporting hip being higher than the other one. Although, also in Egypt, attention to these anatomical details recurs in Hellenistic and Roman statuary, Egyptian-style statues with back pillar do not seem to present this feature.<sup>24</sup>

A few more elements must be considered when comparing the three Italian statues: the Karales statue and the larger one from Benevento share the rendering of the clavicles and a tunic beneath the cloak, which are absent in the smaller Benevento specimen; while the garlands on which the vase rests are different in the three cases: smooth in the smaller Benevento statue; double-ringed and with punctiform incisions in the larger one; with spikes in the Karales statue. Finally, this latter sculpture

<sup>22</sup> Recently, during a study visit to Alexandria (December 2023), I had the opportunity to take a close look at the canopus of Antirrhodos and was able to detect on the vase the presence of only a circular element, with no other figures in relief, the surface however being highly corroded.

<sup>23</sup> Such a feature, absent from the Alexandrian statues, could be explained with the desire to emphasise the link with an original Egyptian model, not so much with reference to the statues of priests with canopic jars, but to statuary of Egyptian tradition 'tout court'.

<sup>24</sup> It is rare to be able to observe these details because most of the statues are displayed with their backs against the walls, but see, e.g., a colossal statue of Ptolemy II in Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio (n. 27), and the colossal statue of Augustus in the Egyptian Museum of Tahrir.



Fig. 4 - Priest from Alexandria (National Museum) – inv. no. SCA 449 (According to DUNAND 2006, processed by Trotta).

shows a different surface treatment and a more rigid arrangement of the drapery.

The Sardinian priest has been dated, by analogy with the Samnite ones, to the Hadrianic age,<sup>25</sup> but – also considering the newly identified type of vase – I think a few further considerations will be useful in this regard.

The statue comes from the Marina district near Sant’Eulalia, where the presence of an Iseum is hypothesised, to which a series of black marble columns, found in fragments in the area, also seem to belong. Furthermore, from an area delimited between the church of Sant’Eulalia itself, the amphitheatre, the cathedral and the church of San Mauro come four pink granite sphinxes,<sup>26</sup> a fragmentary ‘canopus’ of type A in grey granite, and a double crown with a Latin inscription (from the Flavian period, after AD 69) in green steatite, probably pertaining to the head of a falcon. Finally, from the *sinus calaritanus* come two lead anchor logs bearing the name of the goddess in relief.<sup>27</sup>

We cannot say much more about the temple and its dating, nor can we be sure that these finds, scattered over an area of about 0.3 km<sup>2</sup>, all belonged to the same cult place. On the other hand, it would be rash to suppose that two temples dedicated to the same deity, and a ‘foreign’ one at that, could be located in a relatively limited area.

#### DISCUSSION

On the basis of the reported observations, one cannot but note a considerable variability between the five specimens analysed, whose reasons cannot be addressed here;<sup>28</sup> however, there is no doubt that a clear distinction can be drawn between the Alexandrian statues and the Italian specimens: the stylistic characteristics and the lack of the back pillar of the two Alexandrian statues make them appear firmly rooted in the mixed-art tradition of Greco-Roman Egypt, and (slightly?) older than the Italian ones, for which, however, they were evidently the model. On the other hand, I believe that the Benevento and Karales statues were made in Italy,<sup>29</sup> both because of their modelling and the type of their back pillars and because of the anatomical details that we have observed above and that are shared by other examples of Egyptianising statues from Italy.<sup>30</sup> Considering their similarities, I also think that the three Italian statues are chron-

<sup>25</sup> GAVINI 2014, 33.

<sup>26</sup> A fragmentary fifth sphinx, heavily integrated in modern times, was seen by the writer during the recent survey in Cagliari, its provenance being unknown.

<sup>27</sup> In other areas of the city, a few other Egyptianising materials have also been found, including a colossal statue of the goddess Isis, now dispersed, and a series of sculptures of more uncertain Isiac attribution. For a concise report on the Isiac materials from Cagliari, see GAVINI 2014, 21-37.

<sup>28</sup> See above, n. 6.

<sup>29</sup> Contrary to what was suggested by MÜLLER, who considered them as the production of an Alexandrian workshop (1971, 90). On the production of Egyptianizing sculptures in Italy, see also ROULLET 1972, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. two other anthropomorphic statues from Benevento (see below n. 31) and most of the statues from the Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli.



Fig. 5 - Priest from Karales – inv. no. 18004 (Photo Pirelli processed by Trotta – Courtesy of the Ministero della Cultura – Musei Nazionali di Cagliari).

ologically quite close to each other, and, given their provenance, do not predate the Flavian dynasty, but there are no concrete reasons to attribute them to Hadrian's time.

In a recent article on the Samnite Iseum, I have already posed the question of the dating of the two statues of priests with canopic jars,<sup>31</sup> on that occasion comparing them above all in size and materials with the Domitian statue and the supposed statue of Anubis, from the same cultic context.<sup>32</sup> Although these latter are more clearly based on the original Egyptian tradition, the anatomical details and the distinctive feature of the back pillar make the four statues appear a rather homogeneous group,<sup>33</sup> while the absence of the heads, except in the case of the Domitian statue, does not allow us to add any more concrete elements to the comparison.

Indeed, it is even not easy to find other fixed points: there are no inscriptions or names that can direct us, and the examples of Egyptianising statues from Italy, suitable for comparison on a stylistic ground with our works, are very few, essentially limited to some anthropomorphic sculptures from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli,<sup>34</sup> most of them pertaining to the same chronology attributed by Müller to the Benevento priests.

Even to a preliminary observation, however, the Tivoli statues appear decidedly more rigid, both in the modelling of the body and especially of the drapery and in their attitude, as well as in the form (rectangular and perpendicular) and dimensions (broader) of the back pillars; and they are made of materials and with a surface treatment<sup>35</sup> that differ considerably from the Samnite statues.

<sup>31</sup> PIRELLI 2023, 316.

<sup>32</sup> MÜLLER 1971, respectively: cat. 281 (inv. no. 1919); cat. 260 (inv. no. 1903).

<sup>33</sup> Although I also expressed a doubt as to whether the two statues of priests are actually 'twins', due to their remarkable differences, and suggested the hypothesis that one of them could be a (later) copy of the other (PIRELLI 2023, n. 32).

<sup>34</sup> And some few other smaller specimens from different places in Rome. For an exhaustive catalogue of these statues, see ROULLET 1972.

<sup>35</sup> In this regard, however, we must remember that most of the statues from Tivoli have been substantially integrated and treated in modern times; one must therefore be very careful when dealing with them.

I would therefore raise some doubts about the contemporaneity of the two groups of sculptures.

Given these difficulties, and in order to add some more useful information, we can try to introduce some historical and archaeological data external to the sculptures into the discussion.

We should, for instance, consider that, from the very beginning, the Flavians had established and sought to propagate close ties with Egypt,<sup>36</sup> which also resulted in monumental works dedicated to Egyptian deities not only in Egypt<sup>37</sup> but also in numerous sites in the empire,<sup>38</sup> and we must not forget that most of the materials from the Benevento Iseum are dated to Domitian, and that the materials from Karales point to a possible Flavian chronology of the local Iseum.

Add to this the fact that the great proliferation of the figure of Osiris Hydreios began in the time of Vespasian and Domitian especially on coinage,<sup>39</sup> and that a large specimen of a stone ‘canopus’ comes from Domitian’s residence at Monte Circeo.<sup>40</sup>

These are only indirect clues, and it is clear that the statues from Benevento will have to be included in the broader discourse of the reconstruction of the archaeological context of the Samnite Iseum, which will also entail a thorough analysis of the rest of the relevant materials, and that an equally thorough investigation is needed for the materials from Karales.<sup>41</sup> However, even at the preliminary stage of these considerations, I would not dismiss the hypothesis that the presence of priests with canopic jars in Italy could be linked in the first instance to the Flavians and to this important phase of dialogue between Egypt and the centre of the empire.

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<sup>36</sup> See for all CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI 2014, 237-59, and, more recently, BRICAULT, GASPARINI 2018, 121-36. On the political and economic aspects underpinning the Flavian dynasty’s ties with Egypt, see also the comprehensive synthesis by HÖLBL 2000, 29-36 (also in relation to the phases immediately preceding, during the reign of Nero), and BELLUCCI, LONGO 2020.

<sup>37</sup> For an extensive survey of imperial monuments in Egypt, see HÖLBL 2000, *id.* 2004, *id.* 2005.

<sup>38</sup> As for Flavian-era Isea in the empire, see ARSLAN *et al.* 1997, and, for recent acquisitions: Isea of Sybaris (GRECO, GASPARINI 2014), and Carthago Nova (NOGUERA CELDRAN *et al.* 2019).

<sup>39</sup> WILD 1981, cap. 6, n. 89.

<sup>40</sup> ROULLET 1972, 97, cat. no. 144a. A canopus was also found in fragments during the excavations of the Iseum in Pompeii: PAHI, 172.

<sup>41</sup> During my recent visit to Cagliari, I was able to collect various data on the Isiac materials of ancient Karales, which will be the subject of a forthcoming study.

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Egypt has long captivated the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from ancient and modern explorers. In antiquity, it served as the realm of pharaohs, steeped in myths that intertwined gods and humanity. Herodotus marveled at its wonders, while Napoleon's expedition unearthed its mysteries. The stories passed down to us also offer insights into various facets of everyday life in ancient Egypt—human emotions, connection with nature, and the desire to discover unknown lands. This volume, presented to prof. Marilina Betrò, delves into Egypt's history, weaving ancient and modern narratives. It explores Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives.

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